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## THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

National Intelligence Officers

17 February 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director Operations

VIA : Bruce C. Clarke, Jr.  
Deputy Director, National Foreign AssessmentFROM : Robert M. Gates  
National Intelligence Officer for USSR-EE

SUBJECT : NSC on Poland

1. The discussion on Poland at tomorrow's meeting carries over from last week's NSC. No one, including the NSC Staff, seems to have a clear notion what specifically is to be discussed, although the status of US contingency planning on Poland is the best bet.

2. You may be asked (or wish) to comment on current developments in Poland. Political and military talking points for your use are at Tab B.

3. The other materials are for your background. They include:

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-- A paper prepared for Secretary Haig providing a good overview of contingency measures under consideration and the status of talks with the Allies on such measures (Tab C).

[Redacted]

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-- Finally, the DCI asked OER to prepare a paper on Western economic leverage on the Soviets. While it probably will not come up, you may find it of interest

[Redacted]

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*Robert M. Gates*  
Robert M. Gates

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TALKING POINTSPolitical Situation

The Polish government's call for a period of domestic tranquility appears to be gaining greater popular acceptance.

- Only holdouts are the students, whose spreading demonstrations could become significant disruption. Negotiations with students resumed Tuesday.
- Regime actions over the last week show continued preference for political solution, even though martial law option more evident and better prepared.



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Continued calm depends upon goodwill by both regime and Solidarity as they negotiate many difficult issues.

- Continuing problem for regime and union is that neither has established control over local organizations; must rein in militants.

Soviets have endorsed Jaruzelski appointment and 90-day strike moratorium.

- Appear willing to give the Polish party's new tack a chance.
- 26th party congress, which begins next Monday and will last 10-14 days, gives Soviets added incentive for supporting a course that will bring some calm to Poland.

Nevertheless, Moscow will continue to press the Polish regime to limit the activities of the dissidents and militants within Solidarity.

- Soviet media continues to criticize these elements, as well as the West for allegedly supporting them.
- If the new strategy fails to quell unrest, Soviets likely to demand implementation of martial law.



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